

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-11 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 SAM-01 ARA-06 /089 W

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R 231727Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6783

INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LOME

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USUN NEW YORK 521

C O N F I D E N T I A L ABIDJAN 0799

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PYPR, IV, AO

SUBJECT: IVORIAN VIEWS ON OAU SUMMIT

1. CHARGE CALLED ON FONOFF DIRECTOR OF CABINET NOUAMA WHO

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ACCOMPANIED FONMIN USHER TO ADDIS OAU SUMMIT. NOUAMA SAID

MEETINGS HAD BEEN EXCEPTIONALLY ARDUOUS, AND HE HAD EVIDENTLY BEEN SHAKEN BY INTENSITY OF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN "RADICALS" AND "MODERATES."

2. TO START WITH, PRO-MPLA FACTION WAS UNIFIED IN DEMAND FOR RECOGNITION, WHILE MODERATES HAD NO AGREED POSITION, A FEW MODERATES WISHED RECOGNIZE FNLA/UNITA, WHICH IVORY COAST OPPOSED. MORE DIFFICULT, HOWEVER, HAD BEEN POSITION OF FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES. OPENING STATEMENTS OF PRO-MPLA STATES I.E. ALGERIA, GUINEA, GHANA, AND NIGERIA HAD BEEN, AS EXPECTED, ROUTINE ANTI-IMPERIALIST RHETORIC. IN NEGOTIATING SESSIONS, HOWEVER, USUALLY OUTSPOKEN RADICALS HAD LEFT ARGUMENT ALMOST ENTIRELY TO SPOKESMEN FOR FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES, MOST NOTABLY CABRAL OF GUINEA BISSAU. THESE STATES FLATLY REFUSED IN ANY WAY TO CONDEMN SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA, EVEN IN GENERAL CONTEXT OF "FOREIGN INTERVENTION." ARGUMENT WAS THAT SOVIETS HAD SUPPORTED AND FOUGHT WITH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, WHILE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPEANS HAD SUPPORTED SALAZAR AND GAETANO. AND REFUSED EVEN SALE OF ARMS TO LIBERATION GROUPS. WHEN IVORY COAST AND OTHER ARGUED SOVIET PRESENCE WAS FOR OF COLONIALISM, CAPE VERDE REPRESENTATIVE TOLD NOUAMA "RUSSIANS ARE NOT FOREIGNERS TO US. THEY LIVED WITH US IN THE BUSH FOR TEN YEARS. THEY ARE OUR NATURAL ALLIES."

3. FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES ALSO ALLEGED THAT U.S. AND EUROPEANS WERE SUPPORTING FNLA AND UNITA NOT RPT NOT PREVENT RUSSIAN DOMINATION BUT TO PROTECT SOUTH AFRICA. MODERATES HAD FIRMLY DENIED THIS CHARGE, BUT PRO-MPLA STATES HAD NOT ABANDONED IT.

4. NOUAMA SAID THAT IVORY COAST AND MOST OTHER MODERATES INTENDED HOLD THE LINE, ALTHOUGH THERE MIGHT BE SOME DEFECTIONS. HE SAID WITH SOME HEAT, HOWEVER, EMPHASIZING THAT HE HAD FONMIN USHER'S CONCURRENCE, THAT U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE MUST BEAR MUCH OF THE BLAME FOR PRESENT SITUATION. SUPPORT OF PORTUGAL AND REFUSAL TO ASSIST OR SELL ARMS TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS HAD BUILT CORE OF ILL-FEELING WHICH WOULD TAKE YEARS TO OVERCOME. NOUAMA SAID FIRST STEP WAS TO BEGIN AID PROGRAMS TO NEW STATES. CHARGE NOTED THIS EFFORT WAS ALREADY UNDER WAY, BUT WOULD HARDLY CHANGE ATTITUDES ON ANGOLA PRIOR TO

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JUNE OAU MEETING. IMMEDIATE PROBLEM WAS TO PREVENT EMERGENCE OF SOVIET-DOMINATED MPLA GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA, WHICH COULD HAVE MALIGNANT EFFECT THROUGHOUT AFRICA. NOUAMA AGREED, AND SAID THIS WAS GOIC POSITION, BUT THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE CONVINCE MOZAMBIQUE, GUINEA BISSAU ET AL.

5. ASKED WHETHER MODERATES WOULD BE ABLE TO WITHSTAND PRESSURE FROM PRO-MPLA FACTION, NOUAMA SAID THIS WOULD DEPEND ON

DEVELOPMENTS IN MILITARY SITUATION. IF MPLA GAINS CONTINUED THERE WOULD BE DEFECTORS FROM MODERATES. IF MPLA COULD BE CONSTRAINED OR PUSHED BACK, SOME MPLA SUPPORTERS IN AFRICA MIGHT BE PREPARED ACCEPT COMPROMISE SOLUTION LEADING TOWARDS GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. SUCH A GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE SHORT-LIVED, AND SUBJECT TO REPEATED COUPS D'ETAT, BUT COULD BE RECOGNIZED BY ALL, WHEREUPON FOREIGN MILITARY PROCES COULD BE WITHDRAWN.

6. COMMENT. NOUAMA HAS NOT HAD MUCH OAU EXPERIENCE, AND MEETING HAD EVIDENTLY BEEN A SHOCK TO HIM. EMBASSY DOUBTS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT GOIC ENTIRELY SHARES CYNICISM OF HIS REMARK ABOUT SHORT-LIVED UNIFIED ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT. GOIC WILL CONTINUE AS ONE OF STAUNCHEST OPPONENTS OF SOVIET AND CUBAN INTERVENTION, AND OF OAU RECOGNITION OF MPLA. NOUAMA'S REACTION, HOWEVER, TESTIFIES TO FORCE OF PRO-MPLA ARGUMENTS AT ADDIS.
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